

Written for the National Intelligencer by a Citizen of Washington.

## THE CALIFORNIANS IN RIO.

A want of substantial vitality is the chief characteristic of Rio. Every thing bears the impress of decay. This is in part owing to the climate, and in part to the restrictions imposed by Government upon individual enterprise. Something also may be attributed to their religious institutions, and the continual drain upon the resources of the people for the support of a vast priesthood. One cannot look upon the noble harbor, the fertile lands that surround it, the teeming verdure that covers the whole country, the scenery unequalled by any in the world, without thinking of what that country might be, under wise institutions, and what it is, under a people whose grovelling character is rapidly bringing them to a state of degeneracy that must end, at no very remote period, in the utter extinction of the race.

Rio de Janeiro, or the city of San Sebastian, is seen throughout the world for its picturesque beauty, as noted from the surrounding mountains or the bay. At a distance the red tile roofs of the houses, the white walls and green shutters, the projecting cornices, have a very imposing effect. The churches and cathedrals, with their elevated belfries; the convents on the surrounding eminences; the imperial palace and range of large buildings known as Palacox, give a fine appearance to the city from the anchorage. The effect is greatly heightened by the constant rattling of drums, strains of music, and clash of arms heard throughout the day at the forts and military stations. But on landing and entering the town the stranger is much disappointed. The principal square, near the imperial palace, is spacious, but dry and dusty, and devoid of any attraction. Fronting it is the palace, which scarcely deserves notice, being nothing more than a large building white-washed and rudely ornamented, with windows opening on balconies, for the accommodation of the Emperor and suite on parade days or public celebrations. On the right of this palace is a long dilapidated row of buildings, occupied in part as stores and partly as a hotel, called the Hotel d'Univers—a favorite haunt of the Californians during our stay. The Rue de Lapa runs parallel with the water from the public square. The grand chapel of Mount Carmel and the Emperor's own chapel are situated between the Palace de Largo and the head of the Rue de Lapa. The great fountain in the middle of the plaza of the Palace de Largo presents a very curious scene during all hours of the day. It is constantly surrounded by water-carriers, who supply the town by carrying the water in kegs to the doors. The wild and uncouth noises made by these negroes are novel and entertaining to all who visit Rio for the first time.

Throughout the town the houses have a ruinous and dilapidated appearance. The architecture is clumsy, and the style of ornament false and flimsy. The walls are composed of small stones, grouted together with sand and lime, and covered with plaster. The roofs are of furrowed tile, placed in rows on rafters of hard wood. Each house has a balcony, used by the occupants on all public occasions as a place of observation. The stores are small, dark, and inconvenient; the streets narrow and badly paved. Only the principal streets are sufficiently wide to admit of two vehicles passing at a time. The municipal authorities attempt to remedy this inconvenience by a regulation prohibiting vehicles drawn by horses or mules from going in any but one direction in each street.

Down about the boat-landings the stench of decayed vegetable and animal matter is very offensive; and it does not surprise me that so many epidemics prevail in Rio. The best streets, however, are walked daily by slaves, and the water and filth swept away in the gutters. While this operation is going on, it behooves the passer-by to seek refuge in the shops. Calashes and cabriolets dash at a furious rate through these narrow streets, with one wheel in the gutter and the other on the sidewalk, greatly to the annoyance of persons on foot.

Sauntering about town, my attention was attracted by the wild cries of the peddlers, the chants of the coffee-carriers, and the monotonous duties of the slaves engaged on the public works. There is also much novelty in the costumes and manners of the lower classes and their peculiar customs, mingled with many scenes of a disgusting character. The unvarying warmth of the climate produces diseases of a revolting and unsightly character, peculiar to tropical regions. Beggars are seen on the steps of the chapels and public buildings, who make an exhibition of the foulest distempers for the purpose of arousing sympathy. Many of them are covered with ulcers, and deprived of all semblance to human creatures by natural and pretended deformities. Others expose their feet and legs, which are swollen to the size of a large keg with that loathsome disease, the elephantiasis.

The city market from the Largo Palace, and is entered by a massive gateway. The interior is a large square, with ranges of shops or stalls around the sides, and stands scattered throughout for vegetables. It presents a busy and interesting spectacle to the stranger indulging the morning and forenoon. Stalls filled with meat, fish, and fruit are surrounded by customers, whose gesticulations and noisy jargon are quite astounding. The square is paved with stones and flags, and is occupied by market women, (chiefly negroes or poorer classes of Portuguese), who sit half-naked on their haunches, surrounded by their little stock of fruits and vegetables, such as oranges, bananas, pine-apples, plantains, and potatoes. These groups are scattered so irregularly around the square that it is difficult to get through them without stepping into a pile of oranges or destroying a choice bunch of plantains; a misfortune that befalls me on two or three occasions, and brought down a torrent of abuse from the women that was altogether alarming. Shops containing earthenware, brooms, matting, and rude toys are kept in the marketplace.

I was surprised to find a city of the extent and population of Rio so poorly supplied with meat and vegetables. Fruit is abundant, and as fine as in any Southern State at the proper season, but we were too late to enjoy it in its perfection. The oranges were inferior to some I had eaten in Zanzibar. Butter is scarce, and little to be had except at an exorbitant price. The hotels are principally supplied by American vessels with keg butter.

Butchers' shambles are scattered throughout the town, as in New York, but the meat is disgustingly mutilated. No good beef is to be had at any price; the best is lean, tough, and dry. This seems rather strange, as a few degrees to the southward, on the pampas of Buenos Ayres, are found the finest cattle in the world, and good beef not exceeding two or three cents a pound. The mutton and pork of Rio are of a tolerably good quality. Potatoes are bad, especially sweet potatoes.

The horses and cattle of Rio are poor. The best breed degenerates in a few years. Nothing of the animal kind seems to thrive in this climate. Cattle of all kinds are lean and unthrifty, and the horses are meager and jaded-looking, either from the constant heat or want of proper care. Mules and donkeys are the principal beasts of burden.

The same remarks may be applied to the human population. The men are puny and slender, with but little vigor of mind or body. None of the Brazilians, except the negroes, possess much physical strength. Their features are devoid of animation, and their complexion is sallow and greenish; their eyes dead and expressionless. I could never pass a person without thinking of a waxen image.

What strikes a person from the United States with the greatest astonishment is the perfect equality of blacks and whites. No distinction of color is recognized. The halls of the Provincial Assembly are open to all. A negro may sit beside a pure Portuguese, and take part in the National Councils. The road to political eminence is without obstruction. In social life the same amalgamation of races prevails. Blacks and whites intermarry without any check. I have often, during my sojourn in Rio, seen a burly black lady seated in her carriage, driven by white servants. Among the wealthiest and most respectable of the inhabitants are negroes, who at one period of their lives were slaves, but who by industry and intelligence purchased their freedom. Others acquire

their wealth as slave dealers—rather a strange way one would think of evincing their distaste for slavery. It is said the most noted and cruel slave-dealers in Rio are those who were once slaves themselves.

The difficulty of procuring mechanical labor is severely felt by shipmasters and others who are compelled to put into the port of Rio for repairs. It is the laborer and not the employer who controls the obligation; for it is not regarded here as a mutual obligation. The awkwardness and want of skill in all mechanical pursuits occasions much delay and constant trouble with American captains.

Sunday is observed in Rio by more than the ordinary amount of processions. The market, public stores, and shops are open as usual. Music is heard in all parts of the city; the military bands parade in the plaza; the street-criers continue their noises as usual; and the cabriolets, mules, and donkeys clatter over the rough pavements without reference to the day. The chapels hear their matins and vespers, but scarcely more than on ordinary days. Sunday is rather a day of festivity than otherwise. It is a holiday for the slaves and those classes who are obliged to labor, and is of course taken advantage of by them for recreation. In the suburbs of the city the merry notes of the horn and violin and the lively tramp of the fandango are heard throughout the day, but particularly in the afternoon, when mass and dinner being over, all classes give themselves up to enjoyment. This is the case in Spain, Portugal, and all Catholic countries. Beckford, in his Letters from Italy and Portugal, describes the religious observances with great accuracy. In Brazil the observances are much the same. More than a third of the year is taken up in holidays. On these occasions no master can compel his slave to work. They are days devoted to the Saints, of whom the Brazilians have an inexhaustible supply. It may be set down as an axiom that no nation can prosper where so much time is wasted in expensive and unprofitable celebrations. Sometimes for weeks the people do nothing but march through the streets after the priests, prostrating themselves before various sorts of images. Fully a third of the year is taken up in processions of this kind, and nearly the other two-thirds in frivolous amusements.

Begging is allowed by law once a week; but the stranger is not exempt from the annoyance during the interval. Monks in strange costumes go about the streets at all times, calling upon the passer-by, in the name of all the saints, to throw in a few dimes. These lazy fellows are in general profligate pretenders, who do a great deal more for themselves than for the church. Many of the most noted cripples, who beg for a livelihood, reside in good style at Praya Grande, on the opposite side of the bay. When the day's begging is over they retire to their villas, throw down their crutches, and spend the evening dancing the fandango.

All citizens of distinction in Rio have in their employ a large number of servants, whom they dress in livery. It is wonderful and striking to see the bandy legs of the negroes encased in blue breeches, sitting close to the skin, with a pair of tremendous military boots reaching to the knees and spurred on the heels; a short jacket, profusely ornamented with brass buttons; a cap decorated conspicuously with gold lace, and all the nameless trappings that are supposed to give a dazzling effect to high life. The cabriolets are drawn sometimes by mules, but chiefly by horses. The driver's seat is behind, but very high, so as to overlook the body of the vehicle. Public drivers, as well as private, wear the prevailing livery.

It appeared to me that more than half the inhabitants of Rio, of every condition, wear some badge of office. Laced coats and military caps are seen on all sides. Boys of ten or fifteen years of age strut about town in the uniform of full-grown officers. Some of these, I believe, are cadets belonging to the Emperor's military school.

The burdens, such as coffee, flour, baskets, &c., are carried from place to place on the heads of the negroes. It is astonishing what immense weights these carriers transport in this manner. An instance was related to me of a negro who carried a barrel of rum on his head from one extremity of the city to the other, a distance of several miles. This is well authenticated, having been tested by a wager made by an American resident with a visitor to Rio, both of whom were personally interested in the result. I frequently saw these negroes carry at a brisk trot as much as four or five hundred pounds on their heads. A gentleman of my acquaintance said he saw eight hundred pounds carried a considerable distance in this way. I was also told of a feat performed by a negro belonging to a Mr. Rudge, who lives up in the mountains of Tejuca, that quite surprised me, as I knew by personal experience the difficulty of walking there without any burden. This man was in the habit of carrying up on his head every week or two a barrel of flour; nor did he make a practice of resting on the way except once, and then only for a few minutes. The distance to Mr. Rudge's is at least eight or ten miles, over a very steep and rugged road. I have frequently seen a negro bearing along at a brisk trot a bureau or sofa on his head, and this too with as much apparent ease as if he had nothing on but his hat. The peddlers carry large cases filled with stock of all sorts of fancy ware on their heads, shooting the price as they pass each house. One of these I met near the top of the Corcovado, whether he had carried his wares to sell to the country people.

Upwards of two thousand Californians were in Rio when we arrived. The harbor was full of American vessels, and the town was completely in the hands of Americans. At first there was a good deal of consternation among the Brazilians at the sudden appearance of so many bearded adventurers; they were unable to understand the true motive of this extraordinary movement by a whole people. It seemed to them highly improbable that a mere rumor of the existence of gold mines in California should so soon be followed by the appearance on their shores of so many vessels, containing some thousands of North Americans. Orders were given to prevent the carrying ashore of arms—a very necessary and reasonable regulation. Increased guards were stationed at the forts and public landing-places, and various measures of safety adopted by the Provincial Assembly. Their recent insurrection in the province of Pernambuco had drawn off a large portion of the military forces, and it was thought this movement might have had its origin in the weakened condition of the port of Rio. Mr. Tod, our able and indefatigable Minister at the Court of Brazil, lost no time in putting the matter upon its true basis, and not only quieted all apprehensions on the score of an invasion, but succeeded in obtaining for the accommodation of the American vessels bound to California, and their passengers, many privileges and exemptions, by which their object of touching for refreshments was greatly facilitated. Passengers were permitted to land without quarantine, passports, or obstruction of any kind, except such as arose from the imperfect nature of the general port regulations.

Mr. Parks, our Consul, likewise interested himself to the extent of his power in bringing about a proper understanding of the matter, and in the preservation of peace when these privileges and immunities were abused. Nothing could be more trying than the position occupied by both of these gentlemen: subject to blame and censure in the settlement of difficulties that occurred on board nearly every one of these passenger-vessels; continually brought in collision with the Government by cases of outrage towards the authorities on the part of their countrymen, whom they were bound to protect, right or wrong; and vilified by the very persons whose interests they endeavored to maintain.

A few incidents that came under my own observation will give you some idea of the state of things in Rio during the California excitement. The majority of the passengers ashore from the different American vessels in port were of a respectable class, and every liberty consistent with the laws of the country was allowed them. Still, as might naturally be expected when so large a number were suddenly freed from the restraints of ship life, there was but little regard paid to the municipal regulations. Many cases of disorderly conduct, arising from intoxication, were overlooked by the authorities, in consideration of the long confinement of these passengers on ship-board, and from a desire to afford them every license for recreation.

The principal place of resort for all strangers in the Hotel Pharoax, a large building on the wharf, near the boat landing. Every new comer pays tribute to old Pharoax. His cafe is the first place for a feast, a frolic, or a fight. Previous to the influx of Californians he

charged very moderate prices, but he soon learned to bring them up to the California standard. All the officers in port from the different squadrons became his victims, especially the "Americanos," whom he cheated with a degree of effrontery unparalleled in the annals of hotel keeping. Nobody could complain of this, however, inasmuch as there was no obligation to patronize him. But, finding it did not affect his custom, he resorted to the more profitable expedient of charging twice for the same services, whenever the party were sufficiently under the influence of champagne not to discover the trick. This brought trouble and retaliation on various sorts. A party of five or six, belonging to the vessel in which I was passenger, on one occasion were charged twice, notwithstanding each person testified that he had seen the payment made. Next evening they returned, ordered a supper, paid for it, and walked off with the silver forks and spoons in their pockets. On another occasion the saloon was crowded with a new arrival of passengers, who drank a great deal of champagne, and were very noisy. I heard a difficulty at one of the tables, and turning round just escaped being knocked on the head by a bottle of champagne, which flew by and smashed every thing on the next table. In an instant the armed police rushed in to capture the offenders. A Californian sprang up on a chair and shouted "Americans! Americans! will you suffer a pack of niggers to carry off a countryman?" Is a Yankee to be carried to a Portuguese calaboose? Arm yourselves with chairs and smash their skulls! Down with the niggers!" "Close the doors!" cried a voice; "close the doors! keep the crowd from the outside!" For a moment there was a crash of glasses and furniture, and a confusion of voices that baffles description. After a short struggle the doors were closed; some of the foreigners sprang out through the windows, and others fled into the kitchen for safety. An American officer from a man-of-war stood up in the midst of the conflict, and through his coolness and courage at length quelled the disturbance. The question was then put to the sober portion of the Americans, and they decided that the assault was unavailing, for that the party who committed it should pay the damage. It appeared that a drunken passenger, incensed at the stupidity of a waiter, had thrown a bottle of champagne at his head to brighten his wits a little. The bill was paid, and peace was restored.

The Cafe Pharoax is considered a place of resort for persons who come under the denomination of "gentlemen"; that is, for captains and officers of vessels, passengers of every kind, and men of leisure. No sailor, however neatly dressed or well-behaved, unless disguised as a "gentleman," is allowed to take a seat at any of the tables or receive refreshments of any kind. An American tar, fresh from the land of liberty, walked up to the bar one evening and called for a "spice of the main brace."

"You can't have any thing here," said Pharoax. "Why not?" says Jack. "Because we don't allow sailors here; this is a place for gentlemen." "Very good," says Jack, taking a seat, "then let me have a bottle of champagne. Bear a hand if you please." "You are a sailor," cries old Pharoax, getting very angry. "I know I am," replies Jack, coolly. "I tell you we don't allow sailors here; there's the door!" "Not if I am served," returned Jack in the same determined tone. "If you don't leave the cafe this instant I'll call the police and have you put out." cried the incensed proprietor. "Try it," was the only reply. In a moment, at a given signal, four or five negro policemen, armed with bayonets, rushed in and approached the sailor. "Look here," said Jack, turning to the spectators, among whom were several Californians, "I want you all to witness that it's not my fault. With that, shaking off the grasp of the first man that laid hold of him, the brawny tar sprang to his feet, and struck about him with such force and skill that in less than half a minute the whole posse of police were sprawling on the floor.

"If you have any more," said he, turning to Pharoax, "bring 'em on, while I'm in the humor." The police made the best of their way out in search of a reinforcement; meantime the Californians, who had hitherto been quiet spectators, now advanced and declared that Jack was a "brick," and should not be put out, unless they were all put out together; whereupon they ordered a first-rate supper for all hands, and prevailed upon the proprietor, whose interests were now involved, to dismiss the police and let the matter drop.

The police regulations of Rio are better calculated to improve discipline with a view of ostentation, on the part of the Emperor than the necessity of due submission to the laws. Throughout the city are stations in every district, the doors of which are infested by gangs of lazy negroes in military costume, whose arms consist of muskets, bayonets, and short swords. On parade days they turn out in regimental order, and march with the regular army. The Emperor's palace in the city has a double guard of these police when he makes his appearance in public. An incident that occurred while I was at Tejuca will show you the character of the gens d'armes. I had the description from a fellow-passenger. It was the Emperor's birthday. The immense plaza fronting the palace was thronged with soldiers, citizens, and "Californians." The custom of the Brazilians is to take off their hats and stand with uncovered heads when the Emperor appears on the balcony. Foreigners, being guests by courtesy, usually comply with the prevailing customs; but the Californians, fresh from the land of freedom, could not submit to being placed upon a par with dusky Africans. All the Californians present on that occasion were induced, however, by some of the American gentlemen, to take off their hats with the exception of two high-blooded Southerners. They swore they would not submit to any such slavish regulation. A small body of police came up and insisted upon a compliance with the rules of the place. The Southerners were incensed at any interference by a gang of negroes, and when the guard attempted to remove their hats they struck at the police with such force that half a dozen of them soon lay in the dust under the royal eye of the Emperor. A reinforcement with fixed bayonets then came up, and after a severe struggle, overpowered the pugilists, and started to convey them to the calabozo. When the police got into the middle of the plaza with their prisoners they were stopped by a general alarm of Californians drawn up for a rescue. Forming a platoon, they advanced with drawn bayonets upon the Americans, supposing the sight of the naked weapons would immediately disperse them. The Californians, however, stood their ground unmoved as they were; and when the soldiers were within reach they suddenly pitched into their ranks with their bare fists and knocked half a file of the Brazilians sprawling in the dust. The sight was rather a novel one in Rio, especially for the Southerners, who were kind enough to have occurred before. But the police were too quick for them; they could, and used their heels to such effect that in the twinkling of an eye they were beyond the reach of the infuriated Americans, and the whole affair was over in a few moments. Meantime, by the advice of some influential American gentlemen, who were original offenders, the soldiers were called off to the calabozo, where, as was afterwards ascertained, they were released through the intervention of the American Consul.

The second mate of a brig, who was attacked by a gang of these negroes, all armed with bayonets, knocked some of them down before they could secure him. Like all the others, they are very brutal. I saw two of them beat a drunken sailor nearly to death with their swords. The blood streamed from his face and body, and he was dragged along several squares nearly dead. One night I lost my way in attempting to find the Rue de Ourider, and being weary of negroes, and what the square was called, I went to me nearly daylight before I had the slightest idea of my bearings. Every person I met directed me, as I thought, to the "left." I believed I walked two or three times round the square following my left hand. There was something to be seen in the square at this late hour, so I went to see what it was. I found a large building, and I had narrowly escaped being fired at by an American who knew me calling for help. As I approached he roared still louder, causing the narrow street to reverberate with his unearthly yells of "Braun! Braun! Braun!" in my way in attempting to find the Rue de Ourider, and being weary of negroes, and what the square was called, I went to me nearly daylight before I had the slightest idea of my bearings. Every person I met directed me, as I thought, to the "left." I believed I walked two or three times round the square following my left hand. There was something to be seen in the square at this late hour, so I went to see what it was. I found a large building, and I had narrowly escaped being fired at by an American who knew me calling for help. As I approached he roared still louder, causing the narrow street to reverberate with his unearthly yells of "Braun! Braun! Braun!"

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## WASHINGTON.

"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1852.

## THE ISSUES BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

The recess of Congress allowing both the time and the space which we have hitherto been unable to command, we propose to review the material issues involved in the present canvass for the Presidency. The personal qualities and claims of the Candidates who have been presented to the People by the National Conventions of the two main parties amongst us, are sufficiently well understood by intelligent readers to require no place in this Review. The distinctive Principles of the Whig and Democratic parties have never before been so plainly and fairly announced as they now are, in the series of Resolutions, familiarly termed the Platform, of each party. Between these Platforms few intelligent men who have settled opinions upon the proper objects and duties of government can long hesitate in the choice, nor can they be much at a loss to determine for which of the tickets, the Whig or the Democratic, they will cast their votes at the ensuing election.

There are not some conscientious and even conservative men who may not see in the same light as we do certain questions involved in the conflict of the two parties. Firmly convinced that upon the success of the Whig party, standing upon the truly Republican creed which is included in its Platform, depend the healthful progress, the prosperity, and the true glory of the country, we expect to show, from the Resolutions of the opposite party, and the commentaries of Democratic Orators and Journals by which they are expounded and illustrated, that their tendency is to mischief, to danger, to a change in the national policy which is to affect injuriously the character of our country, by embarking its fortunes in experiments and projects, the success of which could not fail to alter materially the character of this Government.

Before we enter upon the examination of the Democratic Platform, however, it is necessary to brush out of our path some of the artificial obstructions which have been thrown in the way of a calm consideration of the real issues of this canvass, in the form of false and calumnious allegations against the Whig Administrations of the Government, past and present, intended to reflect upon the morals as well as the politics of the body of the Whig party.

The most common calumny against the Whig Administrations of the Government is that which accuses them of improvidence and prodigality in the public expenditures. This charge has been repeatedly and pertinaciously paraded in the columns of the leading journals of the party, and is a prominent theme of its stationary and travelling orators. Yet no allegation can be more unjust. Nor, were it even as its authors say, could such a charge come with a worse grace from any other quarter than that whence it is made.

Most of the allegations to which we refer are in the vague strain of the following, which we extract from the "Union" newspaper:

"The friends and apologists of the Administration cannot deny that the public expenditures have been enormous during the last three years; but they endeavor to remove from the Administration all responsibility for that expenditure, by affirming it to be the legitimate result of the Mexican war. It would, indeed, be a singular fact if the war should cost us more now than it is over, and the army and navy are recalled and reduced to a peace standard, than it did when our ships blockaded both coasts of Mexico, and two armies were supported on her soil. This expense will not answer; for the true reason of the extravagance of the Government is to be found in the character and constitution of the Whig party; and that extravagance will continue and increase while the Whig party administers the Government."

When the "Union" comes to its specifications under this charge, it makes them in this wise:

"Mr. Polk was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1845. The Mexican war broke out in May, 1846. The fiscal year ends on the 30th of June; and, as the army was not withdrawn from Mexico until after the ratification of the treaty of peace was exchanged at Queretaro in May, 1848, the last three years of Mr. Polk's administration were burdened with war expenditures. Yet the record proves that he discharged all the ordinary expenses of the Government and conducted a foreign war at less cost to the country than the Whigs demand during a time of profound peace; and that the public business is so neglected as to give rise to widespread dissatisfaction and complaint."

These random charges of profuse expenditure by the Whig Administrations we repelled at the time they were first made, as our habitual readers may remember; but, as this article may meet the eyes of some readers whose attention has not before been drawn to the subject, we will repeat, with some additions, the statements then made.

In the outset, let us remark, that the Expenditures of a War Establishment are hardly felt during the first or second year of the war. It is not, in fact, until after the termination of a war that the cost of it can be counted, much less paid. A great part of the expenses of a war do not find their place in the public accounts until the war is ended; and by the annexed statement it will be seen that the permanent burdens entailed on the Government by the Mexican War are but within the last three years felt in the public expenditures. It is true, however, "strange" the Democratic organ may think it, that the Mexican War is now more costly to the Treasury than it was during the greater part of the time when our fleets were on the coasts and our armies on the soil of Mexico.

The same thing occurred in the War of 1812, the cost of which amounted to a lower figure on the books of the Treasury during the war than within the years immediately following its termination.

The actual annual expenditures of the Government have been rated by Democratic orators and journalists at fifty millions of dollars, and in some cases even as high as sixty millions. Yet the actual expenditure for the year 1851 was only forty-eight millions of dollars; and that for the year ending on the 30th June last was \$44,125,000. These are, at first sight, large amounts, even compared with the expenditures of the years of Mr. Polk's Administration. But, when we look into the particulars of which these gross sums are made up, we find that the increase of expenditure is not chargeable upon the present Administration, but on its predecessor, by whose acts and its inevitable consequences the expenditures of the Government were thus enlarged.

The specifications of expenditure beyond the heretofore ordinary charges upon the Treasury, in the following statement, relate to the fiscal year ending on the 30th June, 1851:

The first large item to which the apparent increase is attributable is a change in the mode of keeping the accounts of the Collectors of the Customs, whereby the expenses of collection are now paid at the Treasury, instead of being deducted, as

heretofore, from the moneys received by the Collectors, who prior to the year 1849 paid only the net proceeds of collections into the Treasury. The item of expense of collections (unknown in the Treasury accounts during the Polk administration) amounted to \$2,051,000.

During the same year (1851) was paid the fourth instalment of the Mexican indemnity, amounting to 3,242,000. Also, for indemnities to American citizens under the treaty with Mexico, the sum of 2,516,594. Also, interest of the Mexican loan and other debts 3,696,721. Also, arrangements of debt to volunteers 635,380. Also, for increase of pensioners by the Mexican war 550,000. Also, increase of annual army expenditures in consequence of the war-acquisitions of new territory 4,566,709. Also, expenses of Mexican Boundary Commission 204,377. Also, repayment of public duties unlawfully exacted from merchants under the Polk administration 1,409,874. Also, for debentures 867,000. Also, for ocean mail-steamer, a new item 1,302,365. Also, for redemption of public debt 521,264. Also, expense of the Census, which occurs only once in ten years 672,000. Also, new custom-houses authorized by preceding Administrations 416,699. Also, amount paid to the Cherokee Indians, and other tribes, under treaty stipulations made years ago 1,587,319. Also, extra expenditure on Public Buildings in Washington 221,133. Also, for Trust Funds 257,396.

Deducting from the total expenditure of the year ending January 30, 1851, amounting to forty-eight millions—the heaviest expenditure in any year of this Administration—the amounts of expenditure consequent upon the Mexican War, and other objects not included in the expenditures of the first year of Mr. Polk's Administration, it will be found that the expenditure of the Government for that year, for all ordinary purposes, was quite within the bounds of the lowest annual expenditure during the Administration preceding the present, and far within the average annual expenditure under that Administration.

So much for the general charge of prodigality of expenditure which has been cast in the teeth of the Whig Administration.

But were this otherwise; had the expenditures under this Administration in reality exceeded the due limits of a wise economy; by what rule of law or logic is the Executive Department of the Government to be held responsible for it? Is it the PRESIDENT who determines the objects of public expenditure, or appropriates the money to be expended upon them?

If by the preceding statement the charges against the Whig Administration by the organs of the Democratic party, on the score of its alleged improvidence and prodigality in the expenditure of the public money, be not considered as disproved, we will establish, by a different process, that they are not merely without foundation, but wanton and wilful.

We have quoted above the language of the journal in this city which is recognised as the Democratic organ. We shall now introduce to our readers an extract from a Speech which was delivered at the Democratic "Ratification" meeting in this city, some weeks ago, by Mr. Senator DOUGLAS, and was, it seems, vociferously applauded. This gentleman stands on an eminence to give consequence to any misrepresentations of his on public affairs, and to require them to be confuted, especially when they include a general calumny of the great Whig party, which prides itself not only upon its principles, inherited directly from the Fathers of the Republic; upon its conservatism and its consistency; but upon its exemption from any just imputation upon its patriotism and general integrity. Mr. DOUGLAS was a conspicuous candidate for the Presidency, at the late Democratic Convention, and will be so at the next: he is, in reference to his intellectual ability no doubt, as well as to his highly "progressive" notions of the duties of this Government, frequently described, with more truth than poetry, as "the embodiment of the principles of Young America."

Thus distinguished, what he says cannot be passed without notice, when he utters such sayings as we are about to cite. We quote what he says, therefore, out of no personal ill-will towards him—of which not a particle inhabits our breast—but because, of those who use, as a class, the same vituperations as he does towards the WHIGS, he is the most worth answering. Regretting, then, that this task had not fallen into other hands, we quote from the Speech of Mr. DOUGLAS the following passage:

"Looking to the administration of the Government with reference to its internal and domestic affairs, what do we find in the action of the Whig party to entitle them to special commendation? Where is that system of economy in our public expenditures in the various branches of the Government which we had a right to expect, if we placed confidence in their professions before the election? You find the expenditures rapidly doubled, running up to a total of sixty millions of dollars a year, of profound peace; and when you cast your eye over the long list of this enormous expenditure, you will find Galphinism, and Gardinerism, and every other sort of peculiar to Whiggery, marred and defacing every page of the account. (Vigorous cheers.) You admit to us whether this very system of peculation and extravagance, in the free use of the public money, which has prevailed under this Administration in all of its branches, even extending to its high functionaries, is not evidence that they themselves have been deeply engaged in retaining the public confidence, and hence are determined to provide liberally for themselves while yet they have the power? [Laughter and cheers.]

"My fellow-citizens, I speak these things not in the way of abuse, but with the view of wounding any man's feelings, but I call your attention to them as a necessary result of a Whig Administration of the Government. This is the practical result of the loose and unauthorized construction of constitutional provisions and legal enactments which lie at the foundation of their political creed. You can never bring this Government back to that honest system of economy which has distinguished Democratic administrations, until you return to that rigid system of accountability, holding every public officer responsible for the performance of his duties according to the letter and spirit of the law, and confining the expenditures of the Government within the limits of appropriations previously made by Congress. And, fellow-citizens, let not this Whig Administration of the Government escape under the plea that the Democratic Congress has furnished them with the means of this unjustifiable extravagance and wholesale peculation. Unquestionably, the President of the United States makes his communications to Congress, and the heads of the departments make their estimates of the necessary expenditures. They tell us they can administer the Government with so much money, and not without that sum, and if we do not give them the money the wheels of Government stop. But, sir, the history of this Administration shows that they have been so utterly incompetent to the performance of their duties that they have been unable to tell, even within the limits of millions of dollars, how much money they would require to sustain them during the current fiscal year! [Laughter.] You find now the public works suspended; many portions of the public service inactive, the troops upon the frontiers refusing to march across the plains to protect the emigrants; and the Administration furnishes the excuses which Congress has not passed the deficiency bill. [Laughter.] And wherein consisted the

necessity of the deficiency bill? Simply in the fact that this Administration was unable to tell, at the opening of the year, how much money it would take to sustain them in their extravagance through the whole year. [Laughter.] My fellow-citizens, I repeat, there is no remedy for these grave abuses but in a change of the Administration. I speak not simply of all Whig Administrations; because matters not who the Executive is, if he be a Whig, he must follow Whig instincts, Whig practices, and come to the same results." [Great cheering.]

According to the Speech of Mr. DOUGLAS, "the President of the United States makes his communications to Congress, and the Heads of the Departments make their estimates of the necessary expenditures; they tell us they can administer the Government with so much money, and not without that sum, and if we do not give them so much money, the wheels of Government stop, and the Administration ceases to perform its functions," &c.—his hearers and readers being thus given to understand, as though it were true fact instead of false inference, that Congress always grants the appropriations which are recommended by the President, and that the estimates by the Heads of Departments are the result of their judgments as to the objects upon which the public money ought to be expended. How low an estimate must not the honorable Senator have placed upon the intelligence of the Democracy of Washington and their visiting friends, to whom he addressed this lucid explanation! Is it not known to every man of ordinary understanding in this District at least, if not to those of districts more remote, that this statement of the case, however creditable to the orator's ingenuity, is unfair, ungenerous, and unjust to his own public reputation? We will endeavor to state the case as we understand it; and our statement shall be such that no honest man will undertake to controvert any part of it.

The duties of Congress and of the President of the United States are plainly defined by the Constitution. TO CONGRESS is given, in that great Charter, the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, &c. to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare; to regulate commerce with Foreign Nations and among the several States; to borrow money; to declare and make War; to raise and support Armies; to provide and maintain a Navy; and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper to carry into effect these powers: in a word, the whole Legislative power of this Government. TO THE PRESIDENT the Constitution has denied any share in this Legislative action, beside the formal approval of Bills presented to him, except the qualified power of the Veto. The President cannot, and much less can his subordinates the Heads of Departments, originate any law. He is, as much as any other citizen, subject to the Laws, and bound to obey them; and his highest function, in regard to the acts of Congress, is to take care that they "be faithfully executed."

The President is indeed required, by the Constitution, to communicate to Congress from time to time the state of public affairs, and to "recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient;" and the correlative duty of Congress to pay a certain respect to these recommendations is too plain to be disputed. Has that due attention been paid by Congress to the recommendations either of President TAYLOR or of his successor President FILLMORE? Is it not notorious, on the contrary, that it has not. During the late session of Congress, even, which lasted full three-quarters of a year, the Annual Message of the President, made in pursuance of this injunction of the Constitution, was suffered to lie, as little regarded as if it were so much waste paper, on the table of the House of Representatives, the body in which the great money-power of the Government is lodged. Nor was a single recommendation contained in that Message acted upon directly by Congress, though, under the influence of a salutary apprehension of popular indignation in the West, one measure was passed coinciding with a sentiment expressed by the President, being that for the improvement, to a partial extent, of the Lake and Coast harbors and Navigable rivers.

For this gross abandonment of duty,\* it will not be pretended that the Whigs in Congress can be held in any way responsible, when it is considered that in the House of Representatives the Whigs numbered only eighty-eight members, and their opponents one hundred and forty-five. The Democrats could, at any time during the session, have commanded a majority of fifty votes to do any thing they chose. Neglect to act upon the Message, therefore, was wilful, and would seem to have been persevered in, to the end of the Session, in order to upset the theory of Mr. DOUGLAS, that, because the President of the United States makes recommendations to Congress, the Democratic party in Congress is under no responsibility for the prodigality in the public expenditures. And yet, to whatever extent it exist